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SERMON

ON

NON-ESSENSIALISM AND THE WAR,

BY

REV. W. W. MOORE.

THEME DISCUSSED:

The Non-Essentialism of the American Church the Cause of our present National Calamity.

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A SERMON

ON

NON-ESSENTIALISM AND THE WAR.

"BEHOLD HOW GREAT A MATTER A LITTLE FIRE KINDLETH."

James iii: 5.

High perched in the scale of thought is this apothegm: *Mighty results follow from small beginnings.* The principle, when applied to matter, takes on its sublimity and grandeur: the grains of sand and drops of water suddenly mature before the eye into revolving planets and rolling oceans. When applied to vice, it takes on the dark drapery of woe: tippling and petty theft, with the lapse of time, culminate in all the horrors of the drunkard's death and the felon's cell. When applied to religious truth, it takes on the unstained garb of loyalty: strict obedience in small things, with the lapse of time, ends in a perfect embodiment of truth and an eternal weight of glory. When applied to error, it takes on the satanic garb of treason: the slight departure from the edicts of a king, with the lapse of time, culminates in all the horrors of war and anarchy. "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth."

SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION.—The Non-essentialism of the American Church a prolific source of our present national calamity.

In elucidating this we will *define Non-essentialism, show its nature and expose its practical workings.*

I. *We are to define Non-essentialism.* This we may not be able to do, to meet satisfactorily the views of all; for, evidently, some mean indefinitely more or less in the use of the term than others. But, as we are not in search of the *degree* to which either a good or a bad thing may be carried, this places no obstacle in our way. It is the *real principle* involved in the *word itself* for which we search, and that belongs in this part of our discussion. This principle we shall define to be, the *assumed liberty* of departing from the written

Word of God. Or, in other words, that God has given to men *discretionary* power, or *right* to change His edicts, and substitute for them what *they* may judge or conjecture to be their spirit. Or, still further, by the same *principle*, that men have a right to *modify* and *change* the written edicts of the King in Zion to so comport with the convenience and wishes of men as to prevent all discord and secure harmony upon their own plan; that is, a harmony in which every one does as he pleases, and in which no two really believe and practice alike.

Now, radicalism is directly the opposite of all this. It is adhereing strictly to the decree of the King *as delivered.* Radicalism, then, means right, truth, fidelity and loyalty. Non-essentialism is compromise, expediency, selfishness and treason. Radicalism and conservatism are the *same* in politics as radicalism and non-essentialism are in religion. Says an able political writer, "Radicalism in American politics means truth, courage, right, freedom, progress and reform; while conservatism means cowardice, compromise, expediency, deception and retrogression."

Lest we be thought too mild in our definition of the word, allow us to say, that in respect to its *nature* the same state of heart that would add to, or take from, or modify, the Word of God, would only need an increase in degree to take God from His throne. For it is an undeniable truth, that wrong doing in what is called *small* things, is prospectively wrong doing in *large* things. Indeed *all* rebellion is but to level our artillery at the throne and the power that reigns. A single torch applied to our prairie grass is, prospectively, one mighty flame, sweeping the whole section and lighting up the whole heavens. Yea, a single spark thrown into a magazine is, prospectively, the destruction of a whole fort and the death of thousands. So a penny theft fostered in childhood may ripen into highway robbery and wholesale plunder.

II. The *nature* of non-essentialism.

This will appear in its true character and make its due impression if we observe,

1. That it reflects upon the *wisdom* of God. When men assume, for sectarian purposes, or any other cause, that any part of the laws, and rules, and regulations of the church, or, indeed, any part of the entire Bible, spoken by the King in Zion is non-essential, he practically reflects upon the wisdom of God. In fact, he charges God with making *unwise* and *unnecessary* demands upon His subjects;

and, that He did not see as far into the necessities of the mysterious future as some of His knowing subjects.

2. It also reflects upon the *goodness* of God. Man, regarding the edict of heaven non-essential in its mode, or form, or order of observance, changes it for his greater convenience and comfort. Now, assuming that this *changed* mode, form, or order is *right*, and will answer all the ends of Christianity, just as well as the more cross-bearing, uncomfortable and stringent one, proclaimed by the Head of the Church, it is clear that God was wanting, either in *wisdom*, to know what would be for the greatest benefit to His church, or deficient in *goodness*, to do it.

3. It, moreover, reflects upon the *authority* of God. All liberties taken with the edicts of a King undeniably question *his right* to reign. And whether we literally set aside a positive decree, or modify and change it, the *nature* of the action is the same. Though a smaller fire in the beginning, it is of no less result in its tendency and endings. And as non-essentialism questions God's authority to reign *as He decrees*, so it need not be changed in *nature*, but progress in degree, to question His authority to reign *at all*. A very small fire "in the rear" in God's empire, if suffered to effect its natural result, will produce universal anarchy and burn down His throne.

This principle cannot be overlooked. Go to the head of the mighty Mississippi. Is not that little rill, rising from an obscure spring, of the same *genus* as that vast river which pours its massive and resistless current into the ocean? Is not the man who steals a penny on the *same* stream, though not far advanced as the pirate or the highway robber? And is not the man who changes or modifies a single portion of God's truth, on the *same* stream, though not so far advanced, as the skeptic or the atheist?

Neither would it lessen, but heighten, the wrong, even if the modification related to what was not essential to salvation; for this would make the act of a deeper dye in unmitigated selfishness. What could develop a deeper seated depravity than for your son to reply to your command, "If my disobedience will not disinherit me, I answer, No! I will disobey when I can with impunity, and only obey in self-defense." Now, will any man fail to see that I cannot be *truly* loyal to any government while I possess this spirit, and while I claim the right and necessity of changing its laws, and rules and regulations, to better suit my fancy, or selfish-

ness? In fact, do I not virtually set aside the powers that be, and assume the reins myself? And do I not expose my treason *still more*, when I say, by way of argument, *It is the Lord's table; it is the government's constitution; it is my neighbor's property; therefore let all do as they please.*"

III. *And here we will consider the practical workings of the non-essential theory.*

1. It destroys the *real idea* of *loyalty.* No man claiming the right to change the edicts of a King can be really loyal; for his acts evince distrust in his ability and superiority to dictate.

But there is another element at work on this continent, and probably always will be. It commenced in the early colonies upon the eastern seaboard, and though in the minority, it has worked not altogether in vain. Not all of the American Church has been taught in the school of non-essentialism, or graduated at the college of conservatism. There have been some radicals all along the line of our history, who have believed and taught that the King in Zion should be *actually* obeyed; and that when he said, "Be buried with Christ in baptism," he did not mean "Be sprinkled;" and when he said, "Repent and be baptized," he did not mean sprinkle unconscious infants, and thus compromise the edicts of Jehovah, and open the flood-gates of error to deluge the world. This element has done much to *retard* the American Church in her undue liberty with the word of God, and to *prevent* our national evil; but the preponderance has been too great, and h calamity is upon us.

For long and tedious years a portion of the church of God, not daring to compromise the edicts of Jehovah, has by her example held as with a martyr's grasp the more numerous part of our American Zion from taking still greater liberties with radical truth. This conscientious and salutary work to prevent the coming evil she has done under the ungrateful and reproachful epithets of "Ironsides," "Bigots," "Hardshells," and "Close Communionists"—circumstances the most humiliating and trying to patience.

During this long and unequal contest between radical truth and non-essentialism the world, unconscious of the great fire a little matter kindleth, has clamorously called for a *free* religion and a *free* and liberal church, and has turned with scorn from the struggling few who were conscientiously toiling to maintain the only principle that could save the church and the country from ruin, and

with a profuse liberality poured out its wealth to extend, and strengthen, and aggrandize the destructive policy of religious conservatism.

But the time has now come in which the world, astonished and awakened by the clash of arms, the roar of cannon, and the surging of mighty armies, as the legitimate result of unlawful departures from radical truth, can see with a brighter and stronger vision. Thousands of our American people who but recently were blind in this grave particular, can now see, that the conservative principle in the American church and in American politics, is to this nation just the outer circle of the mighty maelstrom is to the proud and noble vessel floating upon the coast of Norway: the farther she goes the lower she sinks in the circling waters, first slowly and imperceptibly, but anon more and more rapidly until, with a few mighty struggles, she disappears. But as light is shed abroad, and actual truth and radical principles are practically demonstrated by fiery ordeals, there is a bare hope that this American people may yet awake to the right and escape final ruin. We can but believe that God intends to honor His heaven-born principle of radical truth, and place the broad seal of His approbation upon its long.despised adherents.

If the sword, with all the horrors of war, will force us back, as a nation, to genuine loyalty, it may show the American Church the folly and madness of her departure from the constitution of Heaven and, in due time, make her the light of the world. And when she becomes truly loyal to the God of Heaven and teaches the world that implicit obedience is the only test of loyalty, she will emphatically commence her high mission to this apostate world. She will become a beacon light, high on the point of danger, to safely guide our noble ship of State with her priceless cargo.

2. Non-essentialism has effectually educated the nation for the state in which we now are. And the quickness with which the virus of treason has diffused itself throughout the body politic shows the enormity of the evil itself. Even the *third* generation of this continent, taught in the *family* at childhood, in the *Sabbath* School at a riper age, and in the *church* at manhood *non-essentialism*;—that a drop is as good as a fountain:—that God did not mean just what he said, or if He did, we have a right to change or modify His commands to suit our convenience and comfort, all which has now ripened into revolution.

Where but in the American Church does the errorist find his

greatest authority for wresting, and turning, and explaining away the force of God's truth? He reasons with irresistible logic when he says, if the word "baptize" means to sprinkle, surely the word "everlasting" can only mean a *limited* period; if "*believe* and be baptized," means, also, be baptized and *then* believe, surely the gospel that does not save all men, as we move *to* the grave, will commence its work again in hell, and work *back this way* until it is done; if the *order* of repentance, baptism and communion, as laid down in the 2nd of Acts, by the King in Zion, can be broken up, why not break up the order of the last judgment, and the eternal destruction of the wicked. At this point says the Deist, who is a little farther advanced, if the American Church is *right* in her *non-essentialism*, then, of course, my Annihilationist and Universalist friends are right in following her example, to support their theories; and if all are right, there can be no truth at all in the Bible, and I abjure the whole. One more step not only denounces all Christianity, but, as in France, declares there is no God, and that death is an eternal sleep. And, as in France, let this become general, and we are in the horrors of revolution, to deluge the world with blood. In France alone, as the bloody harvest of church departures from radical truth, the entire nation lost all confidence in revealed religion, and became infidel; and the same conservative element, controlling and ruling the people, destroyed the balance of civil power, and three millions perished in the memorable struggle of revolution. Oh, my God! is the non-essentialism of the American Church to thus baptize *this* land in blood!

The *lawyers* and *judges* and *rulers* of the first generation of this nation were taught by the church, when children, to *deviate* from the right,—to take liberties with God's Word,—and compromise it to suit themselves and others; and thus, at a tender age, they imbibed the spirit of treason, which grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. They commenced and ended their public career being thus taught, and they left their mark. The next generation, taught in the same manner, took their places, and before they left the field, we had so far advanced in the highway of ruin, that not a few saw the gathering storm, and felt the noble ship of State reel and rock beneath their feet. And the present generation, taught in the same manner, took their places, and what do we behold but blood and carnage!

Nothing has been more apparent in American politics for the last

forty years than the compromise of real truth and justice, for the growth and strength of error and injustice: departure from the right, and sympathy with the wrong. The weakness and inefficiency of our courts of civil jurisprudence; the enormous power, growth and unexpected extension of slavery; the fearful and wide-spread spirit of insubordination and disloyalty, and the unparalleled increase of crime, of slander, of perjury, of murder and disrespect for law, are all the legitimate offspring of conservatism, which was bred and born in the American Church. And to-day, that part of the American Church which, in the language of Calvin, claims the right to change God's order somewhat, is held responsible at the High Tribunal for the fearful calamity that is now upon us; and how can we expect peace until she repents and turns to genuine loyalty?

Surely, no man looking upon American affairs from our present advantageous stand-point can fail to see where our great weakness lies. Our free government and free institutions, though justly the pride and honor of our nation, have been most grossly and absurdly abused. We have, in fact, overlooked, or lost sight of, the real boundary line of freedom, and to an alarming extent made free with the prerogatives of both God and man. So thoroughly imbued is this nation with the spirit of conservatism, legitimately inherited from the American Church, that we are incapable of any just and harmonious appreciation or application of law. Even the conduct of government contractors,and officers, and generals, as black as ever darkened the catalogue of crime among men, on investigation, is followed by but little else than temporary suspension, with the reward of salary continued. And it is with trembling heart, well-nigh bordering on despair, that we look for any great, noble, decisive and statesmanlike measures from the present generation, that will honorably close this vexatious war, crush as with an iron hand the most wicked and unprovoked rebellion that ever afflicted the race of man, and lay deep and broad the true foundation for future peace and national prosperity.

True, there are many noble radicals in this nation, struggling at the present hour with a god-like energy to save the body politic; but when the accursed disease of non-essentialism has poisoned the whole body, and sent its virus of treason through all the arterial system, what can the mere palsied limbs accomplish. The great and alarming war of this country, the final result of which is to affect for good or evil every nation upon the globe for all coming

time, is not in the clash of arms upon the battle-field, but a mighty struggle between treacherous conservatism and radical truth.

Conservatism, bred and born in the American Church, and inherited by the great mass of our lawyers, and judges, and officers, and rulers, has borne unlimited sway in American affairs until scarce a star or stripe of our national glory can be seen. Alarmed at the fearful rapidity with which our noble ship of State is drifting toward the breakers, thousands are falling back upon radical truth, and a radical policy as the only salvation of the country. And as *this* contest is decided, so will be the destiny of the nation. If conservatism triumphs, republican government and republican institutions perish. Conservatism in its beginnings, and for a long time, if its growth is not too rapid, will adjust and harmonize matters of difference with but little alarming effect upon equal justice; but when this policy has been carried out, and culminated in its national results, the continued application of the same principle to remedy existing and accumulating evils will only increase and aggravate them. Conservatism in this nation has had its full play, spent its full force, and accomplished its full and natural results; and hence the application of this principle, the very cause of our trouble, to manage and harmonize the affairs of this nation at the present hour, is but adding fuel to the fire.

Practical conservatism, whether in the church or the nation, is compromise, expediency, deception and fraud. Radicalism is truth, justice and equal rights. These two theories are now at war upon this continent, and all the struggle of armies in deadly conflict, and all the slain upon the battle-field, and all the wasted fortunes and desolate homes, north and south, are but the distant and distinct effects of this elementary war between conservatism and radical truth, liberty and oppression, which lie deep buried in the bosom of this nation. And be assured, this elementary war will never cease, nor the roaring cannon and clash of arms be permanently hushed, until backward on the line of our history we search with an impartial eye for the real cause of our great national evil; and find and destroy the hot-bed on which its first seeds were warmed into life.

Now, the church, though not a civil or worldly organization, is nevertheless God's representative of justice, equality and loyalty. Then let her embrace as fundamental, unstained loyalty to the King Eternal and yield uncompromising and unconditional obedience to His commands; discard, as with a martyr's spirit, any compromise of

God's truth; and incorporate these very elements, by precept and example, in the rising generation, and our noble ship of State will have a mighty sheet-anchor equal to any storm. The majesty of law will peer upward in its own native glory, perched high on its own eternal throne, awe the rebellious, and perpetuate peace, harmony and equal rights. The youth, impressed at the family altar, in the Sabbath School, and in the church, with the mighty thought that God reigns supreme in the universe, and must be obeyed, as the only condition of order and safety, will, when ripened into age, have convictions and capabilities equal to any occasion. It will be a part of his *very being*, *to know* that any departure from radical truth tends so far toward confusion and anarchy; and every principle of his matured nature will instinctively recoil from the slightest liberties taken with the powers that be. He will know that when the subjects of a kingdom claim discretionary power to change or modify the edicts of the King, the spirit of treason works in the same ratio, and that the key-stone of the governmental arch is already started from its place. Yea, the gathering cloud, though not larger than a man's hand, seen far off in the national heavens, rapidly swells and thickens until not a star is seen. Lightnings sweep athwart the heavens, and muttering thunders shake the massive structure—the foundation trembles—the walls reel to and fro, and become a pile of ruins.

"Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." When Eve plucked the forbidden fruit, little did she know the *accumulating* result. She saw not the sweeping deluge—the burning Sodom—the sinking Nineveh—the scattered Jews—and this beautiful world once allied to heaven, converted by her *single* act, into one vast charnel house, and the theatre of war, of carnage, of lamentation and woe. She saw not that by a *single* act she tapped the river of death, that has, with the lapse of six thousand years, grown wider and deeper as it has poured its millions into the gulf of hell.

When Luther broke away from the Romish Church and establised one upon the ground of faith in Christ, he felt he had built upon a rock. But little did he think, at that time, that the single seed of *infant* baptism,—this slight departure from God's law, would in a short time undermine all vital piety, unite church and State, and sink all Germany into a condition more hopeless than the Hindoos; that those very infants, so called dedicated to God in baptism, and taught the right of discretionary power in the govern-

ment of God from their childhood, would eventually become their *rulers* and *senators* in Hamburg, and convert the church, otherwise pure, into a worldly institution. Indeed, little did he think that from this slight deviation from God's rule, all Germany would become missionary ground, and so opposed to a genuine gospel as to confiscate the property and imprison the missionaries of the Cross.

O, how long before the American Church will learn that as *drops* of water make a mighty ocean, so small sins culminate in the most fearful consequences. A mind wrongly taught in childhood acts wrongly in manhood and dangerously rules in authority. "When the wicked bear rule the people mourn."

Thus coming up step by step from the past, we are all able to trace an unbroken chain of causes and effects which have culminated in our present evils. And viewing the state of the American Church in her relation to the body politic from our present stand-point, we may confidently affirm that all coming history of this nation will exclaim, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth." And how great the folly of making that which is avowed to be *only non-essential* the cause of such wide-spread desolation and woe. It not only breaks up the communion of saints at the Lord's table, distracts and paralyzes the energies of the church in her commission to win souls to Christ,—spends unnecessarily millions of dollars to erect houses of worship, and employs the time and talents of the ablest gifts to cover its absurdity; but by *wrongly* training the rising generation in the school of treason, fills the land with lamentation and mourning. If the items, then, that *give form* and *distinctive existence* to a portion of the American Church, are as affirmed, merely *non-essential*, in the name of God and bleeding humanity, why not give them up, and return to radical truth? Why not educate the *next* generation, not only for united and efficient Christian action to save the souls of men, but for unstained loyalty.

Were I to ask a large portion of the American Church to-day what *divides* God's children at the communion table, they must answer, *Non-essentialism.*

What has filled the world with books to justify a departure from the written Word of God,—broken up revivals by the cry of bigotry and close communion,—built five houses of worship, and employed many ministers where only one was needed,—robbed the Heathen world of four-fifths of the missionaries of the Cross with appropriate salaries to spread the light of the glorious Gospel? *Non-essentialism.*

And what has destroyed the zeal for God's truth, and driven the life and power of Godliness from the heart of even a portion of the professedly radical church and ministry,—made them almost ashamed of their distinctive sentiment, that the Bible as it is, is the only rule for Protestants—plunged them into the dark and turbid current of popular favor—shorn them of their moral power with both God and man, and closed their hearts and sanctuaries against the salvation of souls? *Non-essentialism.*

What has educated our lawyers, and judges, and statesmen in the schemes, and compromises, and departures from radical truth, that have convulsed the nation with civil war; and caused every timber in our noble ship of State to groan? What has protracted and aggravated our present war and emboldened our officers and generals in treachery, inefficiency, and fraud? What has led our government contractors, and operators to hope for impunity in their high-handed villainy and dishonesty? *Non-essentialism.*

What has so corrupted our courts of justice and invalidated the testimony of witnesses, that in many instances, the better part of every community sooner relinquish their just claims and submit to the most base slander, rather than seek redress by law? What has created among our American people a greater sympathy for even the murderer than for law and order, and thus multiplied a hundred-fold the shedding of innocent blood to save the guilty? *Non-essentialism.*

What has led men to so interpret the Scriptures, and explain the practice of ancient servitude as to sanction American slavery by the Bible? What in this day of our great peril makes our nation—unequaled in intelligence, in skill, in resources, and in actual strength—the weakest of all nations? *Non-essentialism*—the accursed, treacherous principle of conservatism—the rill which swells into the river of death.

And now, should this fearful, withering scourge of war terminate in any form, or compromise, leaving the conservative principle dominant in the political policy of this country, and the controlling element in the American Church, the peace secured would only be that of the lulled ocean, while in sight is the coming tempest.

The cause must be removed, as the only ground of permanent peace and national prosperity. The Zion of God must repent and return to actual loyalty to the King of Heaven, or there can be no true and genuine loyalty to any government upon earth.

While human depravity is so supremely selfish and dictatorial as to compromise the truth of the *King in Zion*, and change or modify the principles of *His* government, to better suit themselves and accomodate others, how can we expect a more innocent display of native depravity in respect to human government?

And if a departure from the laws and rules of the Divine government tend to anarchy and confusion, the same course of conduct will produce like results in a human government.

Now, conservatism, as it is practically defined in American politics, and the sense in which we use it, sets aside radical truth as a *standard*, and introduces expedients and compromises. This practice in the American Church has made our nation a heterogeneous mass of self-contradictory and suicidal elements.

Radical truth is to all branches of society, civil or religious, just what an established rule is to a mechanical art. Compromise, then, for instance, the rule of feet and inches, and what building could be fitly framed together? Yea, the moment you compromise the rule of feet and inches, and of weights and measures, you reduce the arts and sciences to a perfect jargon, and the business world to intolerable confusion; and thus graphically illustrate the present state of our country, as effected by the compromise of radical truth. And yet, there are not a few who, as base traitors to their country, or seized with more than judicial blindness, and knowing not what they do, are at this awful moment of national confusion and peril clamorously calling for a more conservative administration to save the country from ruin.

As well might the rule of feet and inches, of weights and measures, be further changed to produce order and system in the mechanical, scientific and business world.

Compromise always injures one or the other party, and often both; consequently, tends to create an evil it has no power to remedy. Radicalism deals justly and equitably by all parties; consequently creates no evils to remedy. Radical truth, then, must be the great sheet-anchor of any government, human or divine. It should be held up as the only beacon light to guide our ship of State through the present storm.

And yet, forming a concise view of the American question, as it appears to the impartial mind, it is to be feared that we as a nation are already so demoralized by conservatism, and weakened and distracted by its treacherous influence in all the official departments

of the government, that an aggressive war upon the insurgents will only result in disgrace and the useless sacrifice of human life, and national fortune. With a united radical policy, which only is admissible and successful in time of war, we might crush the unholy rebellion and restore honorable peace to our distracted country as rapidly as our armies could march over the Southern soil.

But with two years' sad experience in political figuring, military treason, and government frauds, we have learned to our sorrow that division is weakness and disgrace. Yet, as the President by his Proclamation of Freedom has now tapped the great artery of the rebellion, may it not be wise to let our armies cease their aggressive movements, and make strong and advantageous points, and patiently await the natural depletion of our inveterate foe? When his life-blood has flowed out, he will be docile and easily managed. That is, when the wealth of the South, for which they are fighting, and which stands on elastic limbs, with heart and head inclined to liberty, shall have fled to our lines and found protection, the rebellion will die of itself. Hence the administration, though embarrassed and perplexed by traitorous schemes and influences on every hand, may, in this way, if no other, crush the rebellion and save the country.

In view of the principles now established we conclude,

1. That all of the great calamities which affect the church and the world follow from small beginnings.

2. That unless men are loyal and honest in *small* things, in both the government of God and man, they cannot be really loyal and honest in anything.

3. That all the blood and treasure sacrificed to restore peace and order to the Church or civil government, is justly chargeable upon those who, by a continued compromise of radical truth, have created the evil.

4. That as radical truth is the only real safe-guard against the final extermination of the race, it should be rigidly enforced at whatever cost; for the liberty and enjoyment of a few, like Noah and his family in the ark, or the Waldenses and Albigenses in the valleys of Piedmont, is preferable to extermination.

5. That those in our country, North and South, who are embarrassing the government, denouncing the administration, and striving to divide and weaken our people, are the enemies of God, the foe of man and in league with hell, and that the time has now come that they should be instantly reformed, or summarily exterminated and

give room for a better blood. A regard for the spiritual and temporal interests of the unnumbered millions who are yet to move upon this continent, and the entire world that is to be affected by what we do, should nerve every God-fearing and patriotic heart to speedily accomplish this benevolent work. Let the whole force of the national government, while yet the balance of civil power is sufficiently in the hands of patriots to prevent anarchy, come down at once as a mighty avalanche upon its enemies. Every moment's delay to crush some leading northern traitors is compromising truth, and working death to the government. The little matter of treason in the different States, promulgated with impunity by its leaders, is becoming a mighty flame. And unless the ruling power of the nation speedily plants its mighty engine upon some vantage ground, and clothes with authority some sturdy, loyal hand to direct the giant hose, the fire will become inextinguishable. If need be, let strong lines of protection for the fleeing slave be formed at the South at advantageous points; and the government can spare a hundred thousand men or more, to silence or hang the traitors of the North.

Certain politicians in the free States, thrown out of power, are determined to regain their lost positions, or revolutionize and destroy the government. And nothing is more certain, than that these enemies of God and man, must either desist in their hellish crusade upon the regularly constituted authorities of the country, or they will, in the end, throw the entire nation into anarchy and the indiscriminate slaughter of millions, or drive the President, who has supreme command of the army and navy, to the establishment of a military despotism. And as a military despotism for a time, until order can be restored, is infinitely preferable to a state of anarchy, he is bound by every consideration that binds him to his God and to his fellow man, to seize upon the *last* hope in time to save his country and prevent a greater evil.

If the enemies of the country remain at home to promulgate treason, and control the politics of the land, and revolutionize the government, while loyal men are pouring their blood upon the battle-field to save the country, they should understand that our immense armies now organized for action will, in the end, decide by the sword whether their traitorous work shall stand or not. They, having wickedly abjured and condemned an admisistration constitutionally inaugurated, cannot anticipate that our armies and

the ruling power of the nation will step aside and quietly submit to an usurped authority, deceitfully and wickedly inaugurated.

Men of New York—men of New Jersey—men of all States, who are pressing the incipient measures of revolution, in the name of God and humanity, pause and consider the final result of your present course. The moment you destroy the balance of civil power in this government you inaugurate, of *necessity*, either a military despotism or universal anarchy. As the persistence of the South in war, to destroy this government, made it a military necessity to issue a proclamation of freedom to the slaves to weaken their power and save the country, so *your* persistence in revolutionary measures will inevitably result in throwing the country into a state of anarchy, or in compelling the chief magistrate to establish a military despotism. You are saying, The government is already at an end, and the balance of civil power already lost; but you intentionally utter this falsehood for political effect, and to hasten your work of destruction. A deep, broad and bloody sea is to be passed before we reach this decisive point.

When the balance of civil power in this government *is* lost, your garments will be dyed red with human blood, and you will open your eyes upon a different scene from that which you now behold. When the balance of civil power was lost in France, the streets of Paris literally flowed with human blood. And when the balance of civil power is *actually* lost in this nation, the streets of all our principal cities will be literally drenched in human blood, unless prevented by a *timely* military despotism. By timely we mean before the insurgents can organize, equip and drill forces for defense. Even the guns of New York harbor, *now* turned upon the city, would hold it spell-bound, strengthen every loyal heart in the Empire City, and silence the tongue of every traitor. And for humanity's sake, we hope that conservatism will not spare the blow, if required, until it is too late.

This war began, and has been continued, upon the conservatism principle of allowing the enemies of the country to make all necessary preparations for a formidable defense before they were molested. But the cry now comes up from a thousand widowed hearts and the blood of brave soldiers upon the battle-field, and calls for *sudden* vengeance upon the heads of traitors. Let every traitorous sheet that is denouncing the administration and preaching disloyalty be at once stopped, and every advocate for revolution immediately

placed in irons. The government *now* has ample power to do this work and stay the swelling tide of treason.

The cry against coercion, against suppression of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and against the suppression of traitorous presses, and government arrests, is all of one type. Every man knows these things should frequently be done, and done more promptly, and to a far greater extent than the chief magistrate of this nation has yet done; and every man but the traitor to his country will admit it. The man is drunk with treason who says it is unconstitutional and wrong to suppress such papers as the Chicago *Times* and imprison such editors. In the name of humanity, is the chief magistrate of this nation to be tied up by the technicalities of perverted reason, while such presses and such men undermine the government, and throw the country into anarchy? No!—Let every advocate of treason and revolutionary measures, whether in official positions or elsewhere, be instantly seized and thrust into the inner prison, and made fast in the stocks. The Constitution of this Republic actually requires the President to suppress this rebellion, and anything he can do that is adapted to accomplish this work, by preventing future evils, or destroying present ones, is its literal import. While the Constitution, then, unconditionally requires the President to suppress and control the enemies of the country, these enemies should distinctly understand, that *their course of conduct must necessarily measure out and determine the treatment they are to receive.* Five innocent persons might better be imprisoned through mistake, than for one traitor to escape to be the means of sacrificing the lives of thousands. In this day when hundreds are betraying us to our enemies, none will cry Persecution in view of sudden arrests, but traitors to their country, and the sooner they are compelled to assume their true position and receive their just demerit the better.

The decisions coming out from grave and professedly loyal quarters, that the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* by the President in States or districts not in open rebellion against the government is invalid, is a cause of the greatest possible alarm. It shows more than we were prepared to believe, that even the best men among us can be lulled into national security by the opiate of conservatism, and rock the undying interests of this great republic in a cradle of gossamer over a bloody anarchy. Will these renowned gentlemen tell us, and tell the world, before it is too late, the ground of their theory? Surely, the formal suspension of the writ of

habeas corpus in States or districts that are in open hostility, where nothing but shot and shell can either take or hold the body, can be of no avail.

What, then, can the Constitution *mean* by the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in times of war or invasion, but the power to control at any time the lurking enemies of the country wherever found? If it has not this meaning it is, for aught we can see, but a dead letter, and would better be expunged from the Constitution. But we more than fear that even this professedly wise, kind and patriotic criticism is but to assert, in another form, the treasonable doctrine of State Sovereignty, sufficiently disguised with sympathy for the Administration to conceal the real intention.

Finally, if the Cammander-in-chief of our armies has not the constitutional right and power to seize a traitor to his country, whenever and wherever found, surely he has not the necessary authority to prosecute advantageously the war; and in such a case, even the rebel generals, with their President at their head, might be safely protected, for aught he could do, in any Northern State. If the general in command, on the morning of a mighty battle, has sovereign authority to control his army, and remove all obstacles to his success; and if this authority grows out of his commission, the necessities of the case, and the usages of war, the Commander-in-chief of all of our armies must have like authority in his position, to bind, intercept, or control the influences that tend to his defeat To deny him this, however much it may appear like military sovereignty, is to defeat the objects of the war and involve the country in ruin.

War is the greatest possible calamity, and it necessarily involves the greatest uncertainties; but when a nation is throwing its last stakes for existence, wisdom and true patriotism will risk all on the ground of right—the arm of God, and in doing whatever necessity requires to sustain and strengthen a constitutionally inaugurated government. And for political leaders in a government already involved in war, to set in motion and agitate revolutionary measures, and yet claim to be friends to their country, is a specimen of human depravity without a parallel. Yea, for them to labor day and night, by every conceivable misrepresentation, with fiendish sagacity to convince a confiding people that arbitary arrests on suspicion of treason, or of lending aid and comfort to our enemies, is

unconstitutional, that *they* may have *their* liberty to pursue their work of destruction, is the very gangrene of our political disease.

Every American whose brain has not been soaked and softened by conservatism, or hardened and callousd by treason, knows that the destiny of this country will be sealed long before the present Administration goes out. Hence, if we do anything to restore peace and save our distracted government from utter ruin, it must be done through the present regularly constituted authorities. Whether these are in every particular the wisest that could have been, or not, is a matter with which we at present have nothing to do. All human administrations are more or less imperfect, and the present nomore so than others; but let us be united and loyal, and we will emerge from this war with unstained national honor, an undivided Republic, and unconquerednby rebels and traitors at home or their abettors and sympathizers abroad. Both the church and the national government will have learned, though at a fearful cost, the folly and danger of departing from radical truth.

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